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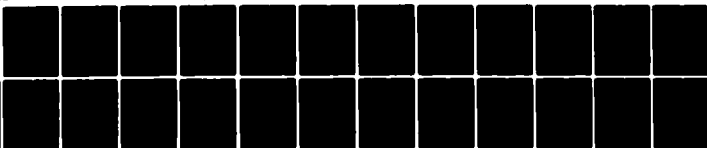
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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Despite widespread awareness of changing patterns of work/family relations, career procedures in organizations are still not responding adequately to this change. The response is inadequate because the working conceptions on which it is based remain traditional. This paper outlines 6 such traditional assumptions, which are patterned around the notion of homogeneity. It then considers the way new career procedures, based on an assumptive pattern of pluralism, might be negotiated.		

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Work and Family: Testing the Assumptions

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WORK AND FAMILY: TESTING THE ASSUMPTIONS

That careers can only be understood in the context of people's total lives is by now a commonplace assertion. Work and family are obviously not independent of each other. Indeed, everywhere there is evidence of the increasing awareness of and concern for the proper relation between work and family, especially as more and more people change their life patterns in accord with new values. "A businessman sorts out what's important in life" says the headline in the Boston Globe (August 3, 1982, p. 43). And, equipped with a new wife, he moves to the country and completely changes his business strategy to accord with his changed personal priorities. Even though such decisions are not yet commonplace, or they wouldn't still be newsworthy, they are becoming more frequent.

Nor is it only individuals who are rethinking issues of work and family. We have many books on the topic (e.g., Kanter, 1977b; Fogarty et al., 1971; Smelser and Erikson, 1980; Derr, 1980; Bohen and Viveros-Long, 1981; Evans and Bartolome, 1980), and the placing of work in the context of a total life has been deemed one of the characteristics of the "maturation" of career theory (Sonnenfeld and Kotter, 1982). Organizations, too, are increasingly concerned with career development in a broader sense -- witness "life planning" (Shepard) instead of career planning -- and issues of work and family have entered the curricula of some management schools. I remember when I first taught my course on issues of work and family in the management of human resources in the early seventies, my effort was greeted as a radical feminist maneuver -- and this despite the fact that in the feminist world I was seen as an arch-conservative. Today, though there are remnants of feeling that these are merely "women's" issues, the relevance of these concerns for all people is much more widely accepted.

Despite this progress, the organizational procedures meant to deal with these issues -- even if they were universal in the business world, which, of course, they are not -- are still inadequate. Their inadequacy has been vividly highlighted by the entrance into organizational roles of "non-traditional" employees. The impact of this change in the work force is interesting. The term "non-traditional" was initially applied to employees of the "wrong sex" moving into traditionally sex-segregated occupational roles, and the concern was whether or not these "deviant" employees had the capacity to do the work. These concerns are still there, of course, but today the issue seems to have shifted. Generally, we no longer worry so much whether there are women with the capacity to work in mines, climb telephone poles, manage business enterprises, or design airplane parts. Nor do we any longer question whether there are men capable of teaching little children or of nursing the sick. We have accepted, I think, -- at least to some extent -- the fact that most work-related differences between the sexes are overshadowed by the variability of capacities, interests, and skills within each sex. We now see that what makes these employees "non-traditional" is that they enter the work force while at the same time playing very different family roles from those expected of the traditional employee (Bailyn, 1982a). It is their family roles, more than their innate capacities, that are non-traditional when looked at from the point of view of their careers.¹ This realization means, also, that the definition of "non-traditional" must be expanded since, from the perspective of family roles, men in dual-career families are just as "non-traditional" in technical and managerial roles as women. These are not only "women's" issues, therefore; these organizational procedures have relevance for the effective deployment of all employees.

Thus, the importance of these issues has been recognized. Concern for them is evidenced in changing individual life patterns, in research and theory,

and in our teaching. Organizations are trying to respond. And yet, it is only the beginning. For when we look closely we find that in significant ways much of this work is still superficial and inadequate. The reason for the inadequacy can, I believe, be stated. The response is inadequate because the working assumptions on which it is based remain traditional. The innovative thought that exists in this area has not yet penetrated the often unarticulated underlying assumptions in which traditional responses are anchored.

We are only beginning to realize the extent to which specific organizational policies and procedures are determined by tacit assumptions (Schein, 1982; Dyer, 1982). Though these connections are not usually explicit -- except, perhaps, at the time of an organization's founding -- we become aware of the impact of underlying assumptions when the policies based on them turn out to be dysfunctional as they hit up against new circumstances. The experience of non-traditional employees, accentuated of course by value changes and legal requirements embedded in a large social movement, has been such a circumstance in relation to work and family.²

To the extent, then, that this change is not a passing fad -- and all the evidence we have indicates that it is not -- it is important to try to articulate the traditional assumptions now underlying organizational procedures and to test them against the new conditions. For if we do not, the possibility remains that changes introduced in these procedures will remain superficial or prove to be counterproductive because of unintended negative consequences.³

I would like, therefore, to consider some of these traditional assumptions and speculate on what alternative and more productive guidelines for our procedures might look like. Getting there, of course, is another matter. We cannot simply assert one day that we are now shifting our cultural assumptions. But awareness of how they link to procedures, and how these procedures operate in

changed circumstances, is a first step.

The examples I have listed in Figure 1 are the traditional assumptions that seem to me most relevant to new patterns of work/family relations. Some, I realize, are familiar; issues we have been thinking about for a long time. My goal, however, is not merely to list these assumptions but to indicate their connection to organizational policies and procedures and to show how they enter into our thinking and into our attempts to improve these procedures.

Assumption 1: Family Patterns are Traditional

It has been almost ten years since we were alerted to the "two-person career" (Papanek, 1973). And yet, much of our thinking is still premised on the assumption that all family patterns are traditional. Take, for example, the early career years. Even our best career textbooks (e.g., Hall, 1976; Schein, 1978), which include chapters on family, present conclusions that implicitly assume traditional family patterns. We are told that successful careers depend on challenging first assignments, and that investment in career during the early years is critical to future development. We have research showing that even many years later success can still be traced to the character of these early years (e.g. Bray et al., 1974; Rosenbaum, 1979).⁴ The implications are clear: in the early years, work must come first. But the family chapters of these books alert us to the serious issues involved in establishing mutually supportive relations with a partner and to the demands imposed by the presence of young children. What they ignore is the fact that these two periods of establishment -- of a family and of a career -- appear on their charts at the same time in a person's life. The unstated assumption (made explicit in the work of Evans and Bartolome) that makes sense of what at first seems like a contradiction is that these two tasks belong to different people: one person establishes a career and another the family.

Figure 1

SOME TRADITIONAL ASSUMPTIONS

1. Family patterns are traditional.
2. Nothing counts but work.
3. Effective performance requires total involvement.
4. Everyone wants to move up.
5. Within an occupational role, everyone is alike.
6. Once set on a career, nothing much happens.

The assumption of traditional family patterns is reflected most obviously in organizational policies governing geographical relocation (see Renshaw, 1976; Brett, 1980). True, families are now consulted prior to moves and some refusals are permitted. These accommodations, however, do not obviate the organizational assumption of a single primary career person within each employee's family. In this issue, of course, it is the changed economics of relocation that has most affected the policy. Once such a policy is in flux, however, it is quite possible that a whole series of reconsiderations will result which will, in time, have an impact on fundamental assumptions.

Assumption 2: Nothing Counts but Work

Most of our career procedures are based on the implicit assumption that all that counts is work, with consequences that have begun to be familiar.

Witness the report of an engineer in his late thirties:

"At this point in my life, I would gladly trade some of my professional success for more success in the rest of my activities. Within the framework of these problems I have long ago decided never to accept any job that would further aggravate the situation by requiring absence from my family: trips, conferences, etc."

One gets the sense, here, that the necessity to follow organizational career procedures based on the traditional assumption that all that counts is work, has not only led to difficulties in this man's family, but now seems also to be detracting from optimal work effectiveness.

When the outcome is more favorable, as in the following account of a high-level manager, it is circumstance that is different, not the underlying assumption:

"If my apparent lack of desire of leadership seems incompatible with my apparent self confidence and evident optimism of the future so far as my business career is concerned, the following explanation may help.

I am now 40 years old and have been married for five years. This is my first marriage, so I was a bachelor until past 35. Now that I find myself with a family, much to my amazement I find that I really enjoy being with my family and almost resent any intrusion on my home life. I would rather be home than on the road; and I find that my newly acquired domesticity has tamed my desire to be a leader of anything other than my family.

As a result, I find that I am more relaxed than ever at work and am enjoying it more than ever. In spite of a general business slowdown, our company is doing better than ever in a highly competitive field, and since I am in overall charge of marketing and sales, my decisions have obviously played some role in helping the company arrive at this point."

Though we cannot tell for sure, it seems highly likely that this man's effectiveness and optimism result from the unusual sequential nature of the work and family cycles occasioned by his late marriage.

In fact, many "non-traditional" employees feel compelled to change the timing in the family cycle in order to accommodate the work emphasis assumed necessary for organizational success. Elsewhere (Bailyn, 1980a; 1982a) I have suggested an alternative career model (the "slow burn" or apprenticeship model) which is premised on a less traditional assumption. But it is not yet a viable alternative, even though we have evidence that slow but more continuous movement throughout a career is often preferable to initial surges followed by plateaus (Lawrence, 1983; Lynch and Bailyn, 1980; Sarason, 1975).

Explicitly, of course, we know that work is not all that counts. But we can gauge the power of this assumption by the reluctance of employees -- particularly those whose status is not fully secure -- to go against it. For example, I have been told by the treasurer of a large company, himself an enlightened man who took off every lunch to see an ailing father, that he feels perfectly comfortable about using his time in this way, but that he knew it

would not be possible for a younger employee to do the same. Similarly, when a young faculty member in a major university complained to the dean about the department chairman, the reply was: "Don't be too hard on him, he just got a divorce." The faculty member was amazed. She herself had just had a baby and held an administrative position on top of her full time teaching schedule. No one, she felt sure -- least of all herself -- would have excused any lax behavior on her part on personal grounds.⁵

At first blush these examples seem like more evidence of unfairness in the workplace. But they indicate, also, an opening up -- a greater tendency to see personal concerns, aside from illness, as legitimate forces on work behavior. And in that sense they help us reconsider previously unstated assumptions and may hasten the day when alternative procedures will be acceptable.

Assumption 3: Effective Performance Requires Total Involvement

Closely related to this last is the assumption that only a person totally committed to the job and to the organization can be a top performer. Again there is explicit evidence that contradicts the assumption: commitment has been shown to limit flexibility and innovation (Salancik, 1977), and employees with serious non-work commitments may, on occasion, be of peculiar usefulness to an employing organization (Bailyn, 1980b; Bennis, 1976). But, whether or not this assumption is true, the important point is how it affects organizational procedures.

The assumption that effective performance requires total involvement is most influential, I believe, in defining observable indicators for the evaluation of performance, particularly for jobs that lack clear measures of output. Though it is no easier to "measure" commitment than performance, there are corollaries to this assumption that seemingly help with this task. In particular,

if involvement can be gauged by time spent at work and by willingness to go along with organizational assignments and stay in the organization, then, according to these assumed connections, performance can be judged by time put in and by loyalty. Again, there is evidence to show that the connections are not necessarily valid: part-time work and work done on shared jobs have been shown to be highly productive (Cohen and Gadon, 1978) and turnover has been "turned over" (Dalton and Todor, 1979), indicating its value, rather than its cost to organizations. Still, time spent at work and loyalty to the organization continue to be used as substitute indicators of top performance, with predictable negative consequences for the fate of "non-traditional" employees (Bailyn, 1980a). There are consequences, also, for the work itself. Even highly effective work will lose its effectiveness in the end, if it is judged deficient because it does not meet criteria set by untested connections to an untested assumption. And thus we are in a situation made familiar by the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948). If procedures based on this assumption tend to make "non-traditional" employees less productive, then we have a self-reinforcing cycle that serves to support the initial assumption, even in the face of contradictory evidence.

Assumption 4: Everyone Wants to Move Up

The truth of the assumption that everyone wants to move up, or at least anyone who is any good, has been questioned for some time now. As early as 1972 we were provided with examples of the "mutiny" of executives (Beckhard, 1972) and discussion of the issues surrounding technical careers (e.g., Dalton et al., 1977; Bailyn, 1980b) is very centrally concerned with testing this

assumption. Yet, its effect remains pervasive. Witness the remarks of a Ph.D. scientist in an R&D lab:

"Yes, it's possible to refuse to accept a promotion, but it is not a decision easy to make and stay here. I have seen it happen and the people are miserable. It antagonizes management. One's judgement is questioned since management makes the evaluation. It changes one's relationship to the company. One either must leave or stay and be unhappy."

This assumption defines career success as residing primarily in the attainment of high level positions. And, even though such positions have been shown to be commensurate with "life satisfaction" for traditional employees (e.g., Bray and Howard, 1980; Evans and Bartolome, 1980), they present complications for the lives of those whose careers are embedded in "non-traditional" patterns (e.g., Wallace; Bailyn, 1978). Further, procedures based on this assumption may be counterproductive even for traditional employees, if their conception of their careers is not "linear" (Driver, 1982), or their career anchor is not managerial (Schein, 1978). This ties in closely with the next assumption.

Assumption 5: Within an Occupational Role, Everyone is Alike

The assumption of homogeneity within an occupational role is the implicit underpinning for the monolithic career paths typically provided by organizations. Recently, however, there has been increased awareness in organizations that such monolithic paths are dysfunctional. And researchers have found that it is not possible to understand individual career reactions by differentiating only on the basis of occupational role. There has resulted, therefore, a more differentiated view of career orientations, a way of thinking about individual differences among occupants of the same occupational role (e.g., Bailyn, 1980b; Driver, 1982; Lynch and Bailyn, 1980; Schein, 1978; Van Maanen, 1981).

Some of these recent formulations have included the relative weight given to work in a person's total life as one area of difference. Schein's "security anchor," for instance, has implicit in it some non-work considerations. And a recent thesis on career anchors (Burnstine, 1982) applies the original categories only to those people primarily involved with work, and postulates a "life-style anchor" to cover cases where work is not the dominant concern of the individual. The use of "non-work orientation" as an explicit category in describing the orientations of technically trained employees at mid-career (Bailyn, 1980b) is another example.

Awareness of the limitations of this assumption is not the issue. Indeed, it is the purpose of most career development efforts in organizations to help employees define for themselves what their particular career orientations are. What is more problematic is the way an organization is to respond to this information. The R&D employee quoted above, for example, may be fully aware that his calling is science. But if his assessment of his organization's career procedures is correct, this information will not help establish for him a satisfactory and productive career in that organization. And, for "non-traditional" employees, whose work orientations are intimately linked to their family involvements, this disconnection between orientation and existing career procedures is likely to be particularly large.

Assumption 6: Once Set on a Career, Nothing Much Happens

The work on adult development by Levinson and others has made it amply clear that people grow and change throughout the adult years. Further, on the work side, we have research that shows that staying in one job too long can dramatically change the response to that job (Sarason, 1975; Katz, 1982; Lynch and Bailyn, 1980). It is clear, therefore, that we must look at careers as life-long events (Van Maanen, 1977).

But, even though career theory is becoming less static and more dynamic (Sonnenfeld and Kotter, 1982), this awareness is not evident in the career pathing procedures of most organizations. For example, once an initial decision of a career ladder is made, there is typically little movement between the technical and managerial ladders, except perhaps by plateaued managers. Also, the emphasis on specialized expertise tends to preclude change beyond the early career years. In general, there is probably too little discontinuity built into organizational career paths. If there were more sense of discrete career "chunks" it would not only be easier for "non-traditional" employees to deal with family needs, but would probably allow them to be more productive at work. But such a suggestion is likely to sound strange because it does not fit the traditional assumptions underlying career procedures. And this is so, even though companies find discontinuity perfectly manageable when employees disappear for work-related reasons (as in transfers or training leaves) but not when the discontinuity is occasioned by family circumstance.

* * * * *

So there are, it seems to me, at least these six important working assumptions rooted in traditional views, that impede our efforts to provide a more flexible response to changing family/work patterns. They are not independent of each other. Indeed, they form a pattern (Schein, 1982; Dyer, 1982), a pattern that centers on the notion of homogeneity: homogeneity in life circumstances, in expectations, in motivation, in ways to meet the requirements of occupational roles. Further, it is a homogeneity that is particularly unlikely to fit the life situations of many young people beginning careers today. And, since the older and more traditional managers still set the tone in today's organizations, they tend to reinforce the existing pattern. They do this, first, by the natural

tendency to assume that what is true for them is true for all. Second, they reinforce this pattern by a characteristic presumption that what others do (as opposed to their own actions) is solely determined by who they are and by their basic, probably unchangeable, traits and competencies (Jones and Nisbett, 1972; Mishel and others). If all work behavior can be attributed to personal traits, it is clearly unnecessary to question organizational procedures when inappropriate responses occur (cf. Kanter, 1977a). These two facts -- that these assumptions are all interrelated and that they are reinforced by "implicit" psychological processes (Wegner and Vallacher, 1977) -- make it peculiarly difficult to introduce change.

And if the desired change is in the direction of more flexible career procedures, based on assumptions of pluralism rather than homogeneity, the problem is compounded. It actually seems easier to define procedures based on the exact reverse of these traditional assumptions than it is to accept the fact that it is their underlying pattern of homogeneity that needs rethinking. The issue of promotion accompanied by geographical transfer is an example. Where previously an employee's family was ignored, now there is a tendency to co-opt the family. In moving away from a policy of transferring managers without regard to their family situations, we now face the danger of allowing presumed family concerns to dictate promotion policies. I have heard enlightened executives say that of course they need to know what is going on in their employees' families in order to decide their future, and have heard managers report that they did not offer a particular employee a chance at a promotion in a new location because "I knew he wouldn't take it because of his son in high school, and I didn't want him to have to turn it down." We certainly do not want to shift from assuming that work is all that counts to assuming that family is all-important, or to shift from assuming that everyone is in a traditional family pattern to

assuming that everyone is in a non-traditional pattern. Nor do we want a paternalistic system, where the organization decides what an employee's family needs are; this would run counter to most of our notions of individual choice and privacy in personal affairs.⁶

What is needed, rather, is a way to make family concerns legitimate in career decisions, without either assuming homogeneity or concentrating in the organization the responsibility of making these decisions. Clearly, it is not possible for me to give a prescription of how we can bring this about. Indeed, following prescribed steps is not likely to be the way such change will happen (March, 1981; Quinn, 1980). But I would at least like to suggest a way of thinking about this, and to consider the implications for individuals, for organizations, and for our teaching about careers.

The essence of the problem, as I have indicated, stems from the fact that the life situations of employees are becoming more various, which means that career procedures based on an assumptive pattern of homogeneity (traditional or non-traditional) are inadequate. But pluralism is not easy to manage, either for the individual or for the organization.

From the individual's point of view, the proliferation of acceptable life styles means that no life pattern -- no way of relating family to work -- any longer receives the social support that the traditional pattern once did. To the extent that our society moves in this direction, all individuals, not only those with "deviant" patterns, will face the burden of choice and the self-generation of support for that choice. This puts more responsibility on

individuals than they have often taken, and if they are not to turn to ideology to substitute support (as has happened, for example, among radical feminists and "total women") it requires self-assessment in the context of tolerance for differences. At a minimum, an individual should be aware of this necessity,

and, indeed, our more sophisticated self-assessment procedures emphasize individual "ownership" of these issues.

The task confronting the individual is to integrate the demands imposed by two systems: a work system and a family system.⁷ The work system represents the arena for a person's contractual relation to the external environment (Jahoda, 1966), a place where activities are externally regulated and monitored, and where one is held publicly accountable for one's performance. The family system represents a more internal, more self-regulated, and more private arena, centered on a primary tie to another person or persons.⁸ Though it is obvious that social expectations as well as self-defined priorities determine how these demands are perceived, interpreted, and reacted to, the essential individual task is to assess the satisfactions provided by each system and thus to arrive at a relative weighting of importance between them, at least for a particular time in a person's life.

The organization's task, as has been indicated above, is to provide multiple career paths and career procedures flexible enough to accommodate such individual differences. Beginnings have, of course, been made: e.g., dual ladders and cafeteria benefits. But the real crux of the difficulty, in my opinion, is how to bring individual accommodations between work and family together with organizational procedures. The answer is clearly not for organizations to assume what these accommodations are or should be. Nor can an organization simply collect all family information on its employees and use that to define the appropriate deployment of its work force. What is needed, rather, is a way of arriving at a "negotiated order" (Strauss, 1964) -- a way of dealing with potentially conflicting interests, all of which are considered legitimate (Trist, 1975). This requires a relatively simple way of summarizing the individual's thinking about the relative importance he or she places on

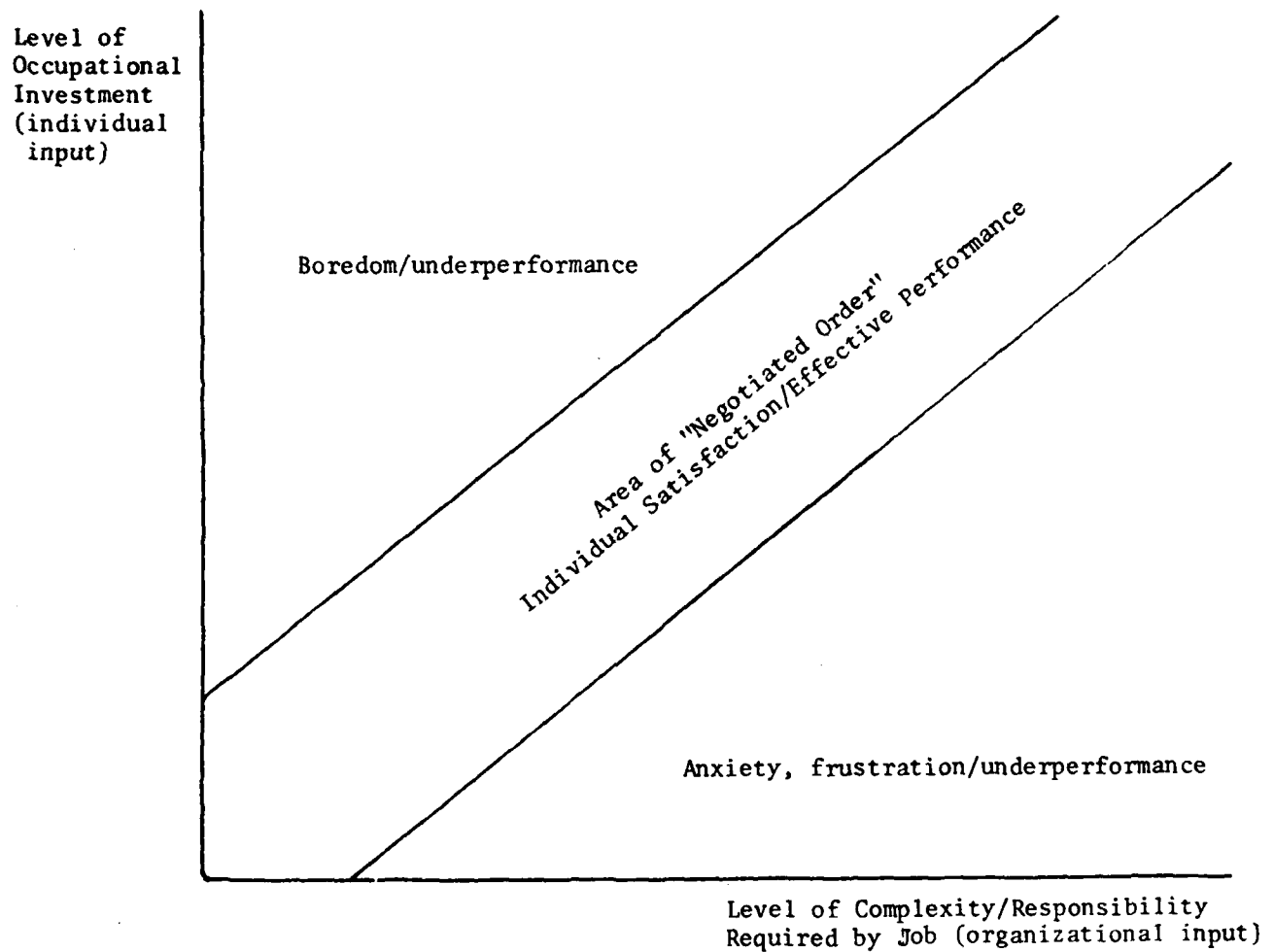
work and family, an outcome that can then be brought to career negotiations and be responded to by the organization in a meaningful and effective way.

The level of one's desired occupational investment⁹ -- the extent to which one wants to commit oneself to the work one does -- is a useful way of summarizing one's assessment of one's priorities, and could serve, I think, as a common "currency of exchange" between the individual and the organization. The negotiation, obviously, would have to take place within a particular occupational role which would previously have been determined by matching organizational requirements with the individual's experience, talents, and skills. It is the fact of differences in occupational investment among occupants of the same occupational role (no matter what reasons lie behind these differences) that organizations must learn to accept and respond to. It is the appreciation of the necessity of differentiated responses to people with different degrees of commitment to their work that will provide career procedures adequate to traditional and non-traditional employees, alike.

As Figure 2 makes clear, such an approach implies that the career match between an individual and the employing organization is not a point but an area, and appropriate career procedures will vary according to position in that area. Further, I am suggesting that it is for the individual to determine his or her placement within this area, and that it is for the organization, within the bounds of the requirements of a particular job, to adjust career procedures according to this placement. It should be clear, of course, that such a determination will not be constant over a lifetime, but will vary as work and family demands change. Thus, in order to remain in the satisfactory region, the complexity and responsibility demanded by the job must be allowed to vary in accord with these changes.

Figure 2

NEGOTIATING CAREERS



Note: Adapted from Csikszentmihalyi (1975).

Most production jobs, for example, are very low on complexity and responsibility. Our assumption is that the occupational investment of production employees, at all times in their lives, is high enough to place them in the boredom region, and so we have tried to enrich these jobs. But such a response should be guided not by employer assumptions, but by employee input. Some employees, at certain periods of their lives, do not welcome enrichment because their commitments are not primarily to their work. For them, satisfaction and effective performance are enhanced by jobs of low complexity. Decisions on job enrichment, therefore, should be based on the individual's level of commitment to that job as determined by the person's assessment of interests and capacities in all areas of his or her life.

Similarly, managerial jobs ought to be able to accommodate employees with different levels of occupational investment. Our usual assumption about managerial careers is that they continuously increase in the level of complexity and responsibility they demand (Jaques, 1970). But this requires a continuous increase in the level of occupational investment for effective performance and individual satisfaction to be maintained. Otherwise, anxiety or frustration and underperformance will result (the Peter Principle). Our procedures, however, are based on such a model. We evaluate against the demands of a "growth" career until a negative outcome, in the form of a plateaued manager, is reached. In fact, of course, many employees do not want to increase their level of occupational investment and would perform more effectively on organizational tasks that do not increase in complexity. But the appraisal of their performance would have to be adjusted to fit this position in the area of satisfaction.

But I am getting beyond my topic, and would like to summarize what this view of negotiated careers would mean for individuals and organizations. For individuals it implies the necessity of taking responsibility for assessing one's

own priorities and for translating this into the level of commitment one is willing and able to give to one's work. Organizations, in turn, need to be able to adjust the requirements of a particular job to varying degrees of employee commitment. I suspect that there are very few, if any, jobs that actually necessitate one particular level of occupational investment on the part of their occupants. Further, in coming together to negotiate a career, individuals and organizations must be willing to share the risk of innovative accommodations. This, I believe, will be easier if we depend more on temporary arrangements than on permanent and inflexible career courses (Handy, 1980). An engineer, for example, may want to shift among three different aspects of technical work: 1) solving technical tasks set by others; 2) being involved in technical decision making; and 3) supervising the technical work of other people. Each requires a different level of occupational investment, and performance in each needs to be evaluated in its own terms. Only new negotiations at different points in that engineer's career will ensure that the work of that engineer remains satisfactory and effective. This requires procedures to fit the trajectory of job complexity and responsibility to that of the engineer's occupational investment.

I am talking, in other words, about a whole new set of assumptions. This, as I have indicated, is not easy to achieve. In fact, we may have to wait for a new generation to manage our organizations and for new accommodations to emerge that respond to the needs of "non-traditional" employees. But in this process we ourselves can play a role, by the way we teach about careers.

In general, we need to help our students, whether they are just entering careers or are already well established in organizations, to understand the assumptions on which current organizational procedures are based and to test these assumptions against the realities of their own and others' life situations.

By sharing these life experiences and using such techniques as role play, cases, and films, we can emphasize the variability of people's lives and the need for more flexible organizational procedures to take advantage of these differences. But our emphasis in teaching should remain on the process of career negotiation, for if we try to meet our students' demands for specific prescriptions, we may be burdening them with a new set of homogeneous assumptions which will eventually conflict with new realities, and thus produce difficulties that are impossible for us now to anticipate.

NOTES

1. The analysis of the experience of women employees in terms of structural factors of the workplace (Kanter, 1977a) also throws into question the concern with differences between the sexes in capacities or styles.
2. A similar process, which I have dealt with elsewhere (Bailyn, 1982b), relates to the management of professionals in R&D organizations as these companies try to respond to dramatic changes in their technological and competitive environments.
3. Introduction of generalized personnel procedures, such as a Hay's classification of jobs or pre-set compensation system, may be producing such unintended consequences. These uniform procedures assume a homogeneity in career needs that is less and less likely to be present. Their use is, therefore, apt to decrease the probability of responding effectively to employee needs. It is ironic that the push toward using such systems stems, in part, from the requirement to provide "non-traditional" employees with fair and equal treatment.
4. I am not questioning the validity or value of these studies. They describe accurately the early experiences of today's successful managers. What concerns me is the translation of this historically bound description into prescription for the future, where people and circumstances are likely to be very different (Gergen, 1973). We need this research to help us understand how present conditions arose, but we should not assume that it gives us universal truths. See, for example, my response to the findings on motivation of new management trainees as interpreted by the AT&T researchers (Wharton Magazine, Fall 1981, p.78).
5. This is not the first example of how forces set in motion by the movement to "liberate" non-traditional employees benefit, first of all, the traditional work force. One management school, for instance, which wanted to permit women with children to attend part time had, for legal reasons, to phrase its regulation in sex-neutral terms. The first person actually to take advantage of the new rule was a man.
6. The Japanese management of organizational careers, which we seem to consider so enviable, is paternalistic in this sense. But, as with other aspects of that system, their paternalism might have difficulty surviving in our very different culture (cf. Schein, 1981)
7. Other formulations (e.g., Schein, 1978) deal with three relevant systems: self, work, and family. To the extent that inclusion of this third system emphasizes the fact that the self develops and grows in continuous interaction with work and family, it is obviously useful. What I am trying to emphasize, however, is the assymetry between self on the one hand and work and family on the other. My point is that a person defines the self, in part, by responding to the demands of the family and the work systems (cf. Van Maanen, 1979). The self is the actor who deals with two contexts, and the fact that actors and environments affect each other should not

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obviate the distinction between them. A different three-way model involves the interrelation of work, family, and leisure (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1980). Leisure (as well as other non-work, non-family activities such as community, religious, and political activities) is obviously an important part of a person's life. It generally does not, however, represent a part of the personal environment to which one is tied by contract, whether legal, economic, or psychological, and therefore does not impose the same requirements of self-definition.

8. Notice that I am not relating these two systems to a particular set of adult needs, as in some classical formulations which identify family with expressive or affiliative needs and work with instrumental or achievement ones. There are emotional and task subsystems in each area (cf. Piotrowski, 1979) and each provides opportunities for the expression of effectance (White, 1959) and of interpersonal needs.
9. In some ways, occupational investment is the converse of what I have previously called accommodation (1978). Both concepts contain within them the relation in a person's life between work and family. But for the purpose of negotiation with employing organizations, it is more useful to focus on the work side of this dimension rather than on the family side. And, though data in 1970 from MIT alumni in their late thirties and early forties showed that involvement with work was associated with a negative evaluation of the importance of the family (Bailyn, 1980b), there is no theoretical reason why high occupational investment and high accommodation should not go together (cf. Marks, 1977). Indeed, it is the hope that more responsive organizational career procedures will make it easier for such a combination to exist and to persist.

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